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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

18 November 1985

1985 Provincial Leadership Changes [redacted]

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Summary

Between April and October, China's reform leaders carried out the largest turnover of provincial leaders since early 1983, replacing 14 provincial party heads and 10 governors. The new appointees overwhelmingly support reform policies and generally conform to Deng Xiaoping's ideal of "younger and better educated." Roughly half of the 43 new provincial leaders have engineering backgrounds, and the remainder are split between former China Youth League cadres and career local party officials. [redacted]

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Many of the new provincial leaders apparently were identified several years ago by central reformers and marked for promotion past senior, more established provincial cadres. We believe the ability to keep the appointees' careers on course over a period of years demonstrates growing reformist political strength and skill. In our judgment, most provincial leaders now owe their positions to central patronage rather than to established provincial power bases, and thus are likely to be more

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responsive to Beijing's policy guidance. They will still have to contend in some cases with entrenched bureaucracies and the lingering influence of former leaders. [redacted]

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Deng's Nearly Clean Sweep

Since his ascendancy in late 1978, Deng Xiaoping has steadily moved younger, better educated, reform-minded cadres into key national and regional posts. Provincial leaders -- including the provincial party chiefs and the heads of provincial governments -- have been gradually replaced under this policy.¹ Following the abolishment in 1979 of the "revolutionary committees" of the Cultural Revolution, a number of provincial party first secretaries were replaced by officials more loyal to Deng Xiaoping and his proteges. The first great wave of changes came in early 1983, when 11 party leaders and 24 governors were replaced within a six month period. At the same time, the number of lower-level officials in each province was cut dramatically. The pace of provincial turnovers picked up again this spring, leading to the replacement of 14 provincial party heads (now termed "secretary" rather than "first secretary"), and 10 governors by the end of October.² Hunan's Secretary Mao Zhiyong is now the only remaining provincial leader who was appointed before Deng's changes began. [redacted]

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The replacement of provincial leaders over the past three years has been accompanied by almost complete turnovers in the management of key provincial offices. According to Chinese press reports, since January 1983:

- New Public Security Bureau directors have been identified in 25 of 27 provinces on which information is available. Hunan has changed its director twice.
- New directors were named in the Propaganda Departments of 26 provinces.
- New directors have been named to provincial Discipline Inspection Commissions of 26 provinces.
- New Organization Department directors have emerged in 27 of the 28 provinces on which we have information.

These changes suggest that Beijing's reformers not only have succeeded in replacing top provincial leaders, but also have made significant progress in changing the leaders of key provincial bureaucracies. [redacted]

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¹ In this paper, "province" refers to China's 21 provinces, five autonomous regions, and three special municipalities. "Governor" refers to governors, chairmen, and mayors of these regions. [redacted]

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² Guizhou's party secretary has been changed twice this year; however, in this paper, Guizhou's case is counted as a single leadership change. [redacted]

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Patterns of New Appointees

The career patterns of the provincial leaders appointed this year generally fall within one of three categories:

- We identify four new secretaries as former Communist Youth League cadres.
- Five new secretaries and eight new governors have specific engineering or technical backgrounds.
- Four new secretaries and two new governors may be considered long-time "party regulars."

We lack sufficient biographic data to classify the new secretary of Jilin Province at this time. Information on the new appointees is summarized in the appendix.

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The 1985 appointments are younger, better educated, and more cosmopolitan than their predecessors. Only two are over 60, and the average age is 54. At least 19 new leaders attended college or have technical school educations, and at least 12 have traveled overseas, six to the United States.

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Although most of the leaders appointed this year are natives of the provinces in which they now serve, a significant portion did not rise through party ranks in these provinces, but rather were noticed by Beijing several years ago and have subsequently been promoted past more senior local officials. Twelve of the 24 new appointees were named full or alternate members of the Central Committee in 1982. Because many held positions that would not normally warrant Central Committee membership, their appointments suggested they were marked for higher positions. Seventeen of the new leaders were appointed deputy secretary or vice governor in 1983, again suggesting they were being groomed for their present roles.

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We believe a significant consequence of these appointments is that most new provincial leaders tend to owe primary allegiance to China's central leadership rather than to established provincial power bases. As a result, central leaders may have less trouble dealing with independent-minded provincial leaders than in the past.

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Associations With Central Leaders

The four China Youth League alumni among the new appointees served in that organization under the leadership of either Hu Yaobang or Hu Qili, and may be considered proteges of these men. Three new leaders are linked with Premier Zhao Ziyang: Guangdong Secretary Lin Ruo, Henan Secretary Yang Xizong (who worked with Zhao in Sichuan Province), and Xizang Secretary Wu Jinghua. Shanghai's new secretary and mayor, Rui Xingwen and Jiang Zemin, are associated with Vice Premier Li Peng through their former ministerial assignments.

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Performance at the September Party Conference

With the exception of three new governors, all this year's provincial leadership appointees are full or alternate members of the Central Committee. Ten new provincial secretaries and five new governors were named full members of the Central Committee at the September party meetings (three new secretaries and one mayor were already full Central Committee members, and three new secretaries and four new governors were already alternate members). All provincial secretaries with the exception of Xinjiang's Song Hanliang are now full Central Committee members. Song was elected an alternate member this September and was subsequently appointed to replace Wang Enmao as Xinjiang Party Secretary. Governorship does not necessarily lead to Central Committee membership--altogether eight governors are not on the Central Committee and four are alternate members, which reflects the lower prestige and power of the governor's position. [REDACTED]

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What's Ahead

The completion of provincial changes has strengthened the position of Deng Xiaoping and his proteges at the provincial level. These changes should improve the reformers' ability to implement economic policies, as well as help keep party rectification efforts and the recruitment of younger, better educated party members on track. The provincial leadership changes also strengthen Deng Xiaoping's succession arrangements by bolstering the power bases of Deng's proteges, especially Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang. [REDACTED]

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The new provincial leadership arrangements will not end the struggle between provincial interests and central policies, however. Some of the new appointees may be viewed in their own provinces as Beijing's representatives rather than provincial leaders, which could weaken their effectiveness in dealing with entrenched provincial bureaucracies. We expect that some new provincial leaders may need occasional bolstering from Beijing, and additional changes may be in order if some of the appointees prove unable to manage their assignments. We also expect that some of the new appointees will have to deal with the remaining influence of outgoing provincial bosses. For example, Yunnan's former party chief An Pingsheng and Guangxi's former party chief Qiao Xiaoguang, both elderly provincial bosses who were considered hostile to Deng Xiaoping's reform programs, have retained their memberships on the Central Committee, and probably continue to exert influence in their home provinces. Over time, however, we expect the new leaders to establish their own bases of authority, particularly as party rectification brings younger, reform-minded cadres into subprovincial slots. [REDACTED]

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Appendix: 1985 Provincial Leadership Appointees

<u>Name/Province</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Named to Central Committee</u>	<u>Background</u>
<u>I. The CYL Alumni</u>			
Hu Jintao Guizhou Secretary	42	Sept 1982 - Alt. Sept 1985 - Full	Gansu CYL First Secretary, 1982-84
Liang Buting Shandong Secretary	64	Sept 1982 - Full	Qinghai First Secretary, 1980-82 Shandong Governor, 1983-85 Shandong Secretary (Jointly with Su Yiran), 1983-85
Wan Shaofen (f) Jiangxi Secretary	54	Sept 1985 - Full	Former Head of Nanchang Municipal CYL Committee Former Head of Jiangxi Organization Department
Xing Chongzhi Hebei Secretary	58	Sept 1982 - Alt. Sept 1985 Full	Former Central CYL Official, Early 1960s Hebei Deputy Secretary, 1983-85
<u>II. The Engineers</u>			
Chen Huiguang Guangxi Secretary	46	Sept 1985 - Full	Mining Engineer; Former Dep Director, Guangxi Coal Bureau Guangxi Dep Secretary, 1983-85
Gao Dezhan Jilin Governor	NA	Sept 1982 - Alt.	Chemical Engineering graduate, Harbin Univ. Former Director, Jilin Chemical Company Jilin Vice Governor, 1983-85
He Zhiqiang Yunnan Governor	50	Not on CC	Geology Graduate, Chongqing University Naxi Minority Yunnan Vice Governor, 1983-85

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Hou Jie Heilongjiang Gov	54	Sept 1985 - Full	Agricultural Specialist Vice Chairman Heilongjiang Revolutionary Committee 1977-79 Heilongjiang Vice Governor, 1979-85
Jiang Minkuan Sichuan Governor	55	Sept 1982 - Alt. Sept 1985 - Full	Former Sichuan Factory Manager Sichuan Vice Governor, 1983-85
Jiang Zemin Shanghai Mayor	58	Sept 1982 - Full	Electrical Engineering Graduate Minister of Electronics, 1983-85
Li Changan Shandong Governor	50	Sept 1982 - Alt. Sept 1985 - Full	Machine Tool Specialist Beijing Electronics Factory Manager, 1979-80 Shandong Dep Secretary, 1983-85
Li Guixian Liaoning Secretary	47	Sept 1985 - Full	Chemical Engineer Former Dep Director, Liaoning Electrical Industry Bureau
Ni Xiance Jiangxi Governor	49	Not on CC	Metallurgy Specialist Jiangxi Vice Governor, 1983-85
Rui Xingwen Shanghai Secretary	59	Sept 1985 - Full	Minister of Urban and Rural Construction, 1984-85 Vice Minister State Planning Commission, 1984
Song Hanliang Xinjiang Secretary	51	Sept 1985 - Alt.	Petroleum Engineer Former Xinjiang Petroleum Bureau Official
Song Ruixiang Qinghai Governor	46	Not on CC	Geologist
Ye Xuanping Guangdong Governor	61	Feb 1982 - Alt. Sept 1985 - Full	Studied Engineering in USSR Guangdong Vice Governor, 1980-83 Guangzhou Mayor, 1983-85

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Yin Kesheng Qinghai Secretary	53	Sept 1985 - Full	Petroleum Engineer Qinghai Vice Governor, 1983-85
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III. The Party Regulars

Lin Ruo Secretary, Guangdong Secretary	61	Sept 1982 - Full	Guangdong Deputy 1983-85
Pu Chaozhu Yunnan Secretary	55	Sept 1985 - Full	Yunnan Governor, 1983-1985
Wu Jinghua Xizang Secretary	54	Sept 1982 - Full	Yi Minority Vice Chairman State Nationalities Affairs Commission, 1979-85
Xiong Qingquan Hunan Governor	51	Sept 1982 - Alt. Sept 1985 - Full	Hunan Deputy Secretary, 1983-85
Yang Xizong Henan Secretary	57	Sept 1982 - Alt. Sept 1985 - Full	Sichuan Governor, 1983-85

Data Insufficient to Classify

Gao Di Jilin Secretary	58	Sept 1985 - Full	Jilin Deputy Secretary, 1983-85
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